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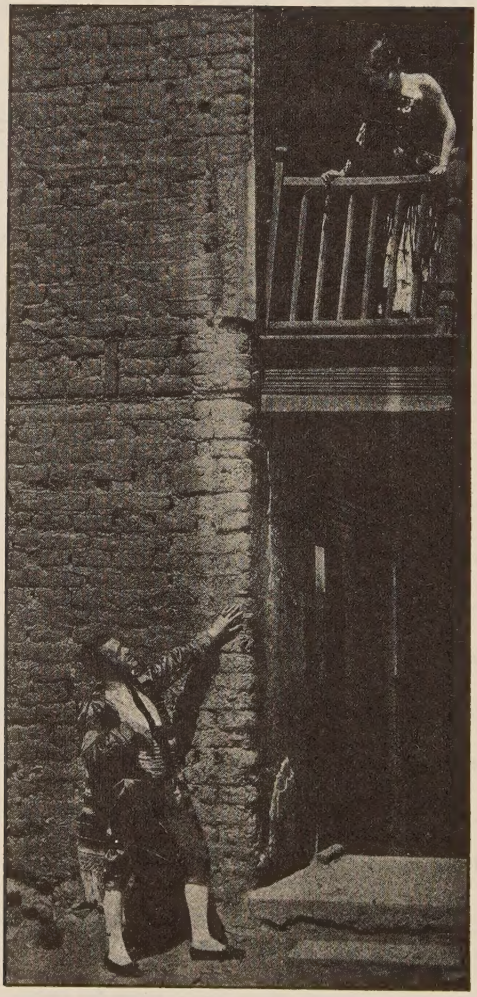

"ROMEO AND JULIET"

as presented by the Koshares of New Mexico in Spanish costume,

Spring of 1932.

Direction of Lester Raines.

New Shakespeare Discoveries

By ROBERT M. SMITH

MR. J. C. SQUIRE of *The London Mercury* recently expressed the hope that more facts about Shakespeare's life might be forthcoming; and Mr. Herbert Horwill of The New York Times Book Review in reply ventured the prediction that within the next hundred years the known facts about Shakespeare would be at least doubled.

The years 1930 and 1931 may well be remembered as the renewal of the quest on the part of several scholars to unearth from various documents and records additional facts relating to the career of William Shakespeare as a poet, a playwright, and as a citizen of Stratford and London. According to Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, who has published a valuable little book, *New Links with Shakespeare* (Cambridge University Press, 1930), the range of Shakespearean literature is so wide, and the sources of possible information at the Public Record Office, and elsewhere, are so many, that he leaves his present study with a vision of other sources still unexplored which he trusts will aid "some other willing follower of the lure and lore of Shakespeare." Concerning the books that Elizabeth Condell, the wife of Shakespeare's lifelong friend, Henry Condell, bequeathed in her will to her friend Thomas Seaman, Mr. Barnard remarks:

> How greatly one would like to know what books they were, and if Condell's copy of the First Folio chanced to be amongst them. Perhaps some other day these secrets may be revealed—and indeed how many more?—when the contents of those sacks full of old probate inventories, still lying unindexed at Somerset House, are classified and made accessible to the searcher. Soon may it be.

Mr. Barnard's principal revelations are the contents of the Hanley Court Collection, as is now termed the small collection of documents found in a chest in an upper room at Hanley Court in 1925, and subsequently placed in the Birmingham Library on permanent loan. Mr. Barnard produces therefrom a new signature of Shakespeare's friend, Henry Condell, affixed to a Brockhampton deed of August 19, 1619—an autograph agreeing with the known signatures on Condell's will. Another deed of May 23, 1617, proves that Condell was then living in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury quite near to the Barbican in Aldersgate where Jaggard and Blount published the First Folio in 1623. There are also three other deeds in which references are

made to Condell and Heming as members of the parish. Mr. Barnard's second chapter brings new information from various documentary sources about Elizabeth Condell who in her will of 1635 disposed of her residuary interests in the Globe and Blackfriars theatres. He outlines also the wayward careers of her son William, and her son-in-law Herbert Finch. Mr. Barnard is convinced from references in the plays that Shakespeare was familiar with the Brockhampton and Broadway area, that he spent the early years of his married life there rather than in the Dursley area. Sir Charles Percy of Dumbleton, six miles southwest of Broadway, was one of the conspirators in the Essex rebellion. Mr. Barnard quotes from the State Papers Domestic, the only letter extant by Sir Charles, written from Dumbleton, probably December 27 [1600?], containing interesting references to "*Justice Silence* and *Justice Shallow*."

> Mr. Carlington. I am heere so pestred with contrie businesse that I shall not bee able as yet to come to London: If I stay heere long in this fashion, at my return I think you will find mee so dull that I shall bee taken for Justice Silence or Justice Shallow. Wherefore I am to entreat you that you will take pittie of mee, and as occurences shall searve, to send mee such news from time to time as shall happen, the knowledge of the which, though perhaps, thee will not exempt mee from the opinion of a Justice Shallow at London, yet I will assure thee will make mee passe for a very sufficient gentleman in Glocestershire. . . .

In the Hanley Court collection Mr. Barnard also finds another new allusion to Shakespeare. In an inventory of Walter Savage's 38 books there is listed as number 33, a copy of Shakespeare's Poems, ".00 .00 .18." The date of the inventory is probably 1667. The published price of the poems in 1640 was one shilling four-pence. Thirty years after, Walter Savage's copy was held at half that price—a startling value in comparison with the highest recorded price of $8,500 brought by the Kern copy in 1929.*

Edgar I. Fripp, in *Shakespeare Studies Biographical and Literary* (Cambridge University Press, 1930), brings together twenty-two short essays in a small volume replete with illustrations of old houses at Stratford, and with information about such Stratford associates of the Shakespeare family as John Bretchgirdle, "who baptized the poet," John Brownsword and Alexander

* Mr. Barnard's statement that the Hoe copy brought £3200 is incorrect. He repeats this error from page 492 of the 1911 *English Book Prices Current* in which £3200 is quoted as the price of the Hoe Third Folio (which was actually 3200 dollars, not pounds) and which sum was erroneously repeated as the price also of the *Poems*. The Hoe *Poems* sold for $2700 on April 24, not May 3, 1911.

Aspinall, schoolmasters at Stratford in Shakespeare's boyhood, Richard Symons, the town clerk, and aldermen Sadler, Rogers, and Smith. In essay 16 he comes to the defense of the Rev. T. Carter who, in *Shakespeare, Puritan and Recusant,* 1897, contended that Shakespeare's father was not a Romanist in disguise, as Halliwell-Phillipps suggested, but an aggressive Protestant, later called Puritan, and after 1579 an incorrigible recusant. Unfortunately Mr. Fripp's method in argument is to state his case without disclosing its weaknesses, or answering the objections of Lee that a Puritan would hardly have encouraged dramatic performances, or of Mrs. C. C. Stopes that the John Shakespeare classed among the recusants in 1592 was probably not Shakespear's father. (*Shakespeare and the Theatre,* The Shakespeare Association, London, 1927, p. 231.) In essay 18 he retells with further details the story of the drowning of Katherine Hamlet at Tiddington, the alleged original of Ophelia, but makes no mention of the fact that Mrs. Stopes first set it forth in *Notes and Queries* as early as 1913 (April 19). In his essay on Falstaff, Fripp takes exception to Bradley's defense of the fat knight. "We are relieved," he concludes, "rather than pained or surprised by the young king's decisive rejection of the dissolute old roué . . . we hail with genuine satisfaction the stern rebuke at last administered by emancipated and responsible youth to an unaccountable and dishonorable old age." This verdict may be commended to the attention of Mr. John Masefield, who has entered an equally uncomplimentary judgment against Henry V. Another essay, upon *Jaques,* ventures the opinion that in Monsieur Melancholy Shakespeare was describing the "unsavory genius," Montaigne, whose cynic philosophy of life, as revealed in the Seven Ages, was not Shakespeare's own. The most satisfactory essay is number 17, especially for doubters of Shakespeare's proficiency in Latin. Here the author demonstrates in detail the use Shakespeare made of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the original, not in Golding's translation of 1566; but he does not help his argument by reproducing as genuine the Shakespeare signature on the title-page of the Bodleian copy of the *Metamorphoses* (1502), rejected as a forgery by both Sir Edward M. Thompson and Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum.

In June, 1931, Dr. Rosenbach gave to the newspapers his Shakespeare discovery. At the auction of the Britwell Library in 1922 he purchased a slim quarto called *The First Rape of Faire Hellen* by John Trussell, published less than a year after Shakespeare's *Lucrece* (1594), and the earliest known imitation of Shakespeare. It is written in the meter of *Venus and Adonis,* but the

title and plot are variants of Shakespeare's poem, and the verses are replete with echoes and borrowings. Dr. Rosenbach believes that the prefatory sonnet, obviously in the style of Shakespeare's sonnets, is addressed to Shakespeare himself with subtle apologies for imitation.

To praise thy worth or to applaud thy wit,
Or to commend thy pleasing Poetrie:
Were but to shew my insufficiencie,
Which cannot equall what thy selfe hast writ.
For thou maist challenge not unworthily,
True Vertues merits, Fames eternitie,
Upon thy browes perpetually to sit.
Then what need I to laud thy Poesie
(Which cannot pen thy praise effectuallie),
Sith *Phoebus* Laurell will eternize it.
Yet, though thy owne deserts sufficient be,
To praise thy selfe without my praising thee,
My praise cannot disparage thee a whit,
Yet since our friendship and our amitie
Commanded me as much: (and hee,
Qui tua non laudat deteriora dabit)
I have adventur'd, as each eye may see,
To shame my selfe in seeking praise for thee.

J. T.

The connection between Shakespeare and Trussell is made more plausible by the facts of Trussell's life. "We are able to announce that John Trussell was a neighbor of William Shakespeare, that his uncle lived at Stratford-on-Avon, and that his family had been associated with the Shakespeares and Ardens for many years."

Henry W. Farnam, Professor Emeritus of Economics, Yale University, comes forward with a delightful little book on *Shakespeare's Economics*. He makes clear at the outset that practically everything of economic interest in Shakespeare is there with unconscious rather than conscious intent. In holding the mirror up to nature, Shakespeare could hardly help reflecting the economic aspects of the times. The sudden bankruptcy of Timon of Athens, the debate over usury between Antonio and Shylock, the ousting of Orlando under the law of primogeniture, the economic movement of Cade's Revolt are set forth as examples. The industry of mining, like the smoking of tobacco, is noticeably absent, though the interesting suggestion is offered that the phrase "the

smoaky breath of the multitude" in the preface of *Troilus and Cressida* may be descriptive of the atmosphere in which Shakespeare's plays had to be performed. The frequent references to sheep and wool reflect the main source of the national wealth in the 16th century. Shakespeare's fascination for foreign names, the risks of foreign commerce, and the usual accuracy of his references to sea life testify to his frequent association with sailors, boatmen, and travelers on the Thames. In his plays we find also the leading farm products, and the imports in common use.

The frequent references to currency and the instruments of exchange, the terms "monopoly," "credit," "bankrupt," "broker" are cited to show Shakespeare's familiarity with the commercial life of town and city. With reference to Shakespeare's social philosophy, Professor Farnam takes the sound position that the poet does not reveal it. Shaw, Tolstoy, and Ernest Crosby, who belabor him for being a reactionary Tory without proper sympathy for labor, can be refuted by passages thoroughly radical, such as that in *Lear* inveighing against the unequal distribution of wealth, that in *The Tempest* (taken from Montaigne) depicting the ideal state, that in *Pericles* on the abuses of wealth and privilege. Whatever Shakespeare's personal views may have been, Professor Farnam concludes that the poet was certainly aware of the reaction of economic conditions on social welfare. In fact, if we had no historical evidence, a fairly true picture of the economic life of Shakespeare's time could be drawn from his plays.

In the fall of 1931 Professor Leslie Hotson electrified the world with the results of his researches at the Public Record Office (*Shakespeare versus Shallow,* Little, Brown & Co.). Following the path of his pioneers, Halliwell-Phillipps and Professor C. W. Wallace, and employing the same remarkable talents that led to his Marlowe and Shelley discoveries, Hotson found Shakespeare's name joined with that of Francis Langley, the owner of the Swan Theatre, in a surety for the peace sworn by William Wayte, November 29, 1596. The reasonable conclusions are that Shakespeare's company had left Burbage's playhouse, *The Theatre,* and transferred to Langley's *Swan* in or before November, 1596. William Wayte turned out to be the servile henchman of Justice William Gardiner, who so piteously persecuted Langley that, shortly before, Langley himself had asked for sureties of the peace against both Gardiner and Wayte. The discovery of this new Shakespeare allusion, welcome in itself, throws valuable light upon Shakespeare's whereabouts dur-

ing the last part of 1596. Professor Hotson's further efforts to identify Justice Gardiner with Justice Shallow, though widely acclaimed in the press, have not received the support of Shakespeare scholars. Professor Brooke, Dr. Tannenbaum, and Mr. A. W. Pollard have already pointed out some of the objections, and they need not be repeated here. But we may, in passing, call attention again to Mr. Barnard's *New Links* in which we observe (Plate VII) that Sir Charles Percy's shield, on his tomb in Dumbleton church also bears the "three lucies," of the Lucy family. Surely these, with Sir Charles's references to Justices Silence and Shallow, cited above, should provide ample material for further conjectures about Shakespeare's intents in *Henry IV, Part II,* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor.*

Shortly before Professor Hotson's book appeared came Professor T. W. Baldwin's *William Shakespeare Adapts a Hanging* (Princeton University Press, 1931), another highly entertaining and heavily documented parallel, in which the originals of the Duke and Aegeon (in the execution scene of the fifth act of *The Comedy of Errors*) are found in Sheriff Offley who, in October, 1588, hanged a seminary priest, William Hartley, in Finsbury fields, near *The Theatre* where Shakespeare was then playing with Leicester's company. This study I have reviewed elsewhere.

The trend of recent Shakespeare research seems to be toward discovering, if possible, in contemporary persons prototypes of some of Shakespeare's characters; and this effort is now being undertaken by well-equipped scholars rather than by journalists of the Frank Harris type who, regardless of fact, prefer to weave romances about Shakespeare and the Dark Lady.

The Original Malvolio?

By ALWIN THALER

IN his most recent pronouncement upon *Twelfth Night* Sir E. K. Chambers [1] states that "there is no clear source for the Malvolio episodes." Gollancz, he adds, "has suggested an analogue . . . in a quarrel at court"; and Chambers himself had suggested another of a similar nature.[2] Neither suggestion, however, ultimately satisfied him—possibly because the two together, tempting as each may have seemed in itself, are mutually destructive? The reader may judge for himself, for I shall presently review the case for these, and one or two still earlier, attempts to explore Malvolio's "sources" and origins. All this (to screw my courage to the sticking-place!) because I think I have found the original Malvolio myself—or at least a personage who looks more like the living model from whom Shakspere might have drawn than any yet suggested. I believe that this model—for the *man* Malvolio, not necessarily for nice details of the episodes in which he is concerned—was William Ffarington, Esquire (1537-1610), of Worden, Lancashire, steward (until 1594) to Lord Ferdinando Strange, Earl of Derby and patron of Shakspere's company.

The concluding years of Ffarington's stewardship marked the period of Shakspere's *Lehrjahre.* I think it will be granted that as a young actor and budding dramatist he might well have noticed, for future reference, the pompous ways of an official who wielded great power in his own not inconsiderable domain—Ffarington had under him some 150 servants and retainers—and who appears to have been unfriendly to the players, particularly, if I am not mistaken, to Shakspere's company,[3] when they came to act at Knowsley, Lathom, and New Parke, the Lancashire residences of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby. Let me say at once that Ffarington sketched the essential lines of his own portrait in the records of his stewardship, that is to say, in the *Derby Household Books,*[4] a document unaccountably neglected by Elizabethan students. And Canon Raines, the able editor of this document, has filled in most of the outlines of Ffarington's sketch. I mean to confront Mr. Ffarington with self-comparisons by putting him side by side with Malvolio. I shall also have to consider more definitely the probabilities as to the contacts between Shakspere's company and Lord Strange's steward, but first I shall venture still another claim in his behalf. Malvolio, I think, was not his only

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[1] *William Shakespeare.* I, 407.
[2] See below, n. 11.

offspring. Malvolio and Oswald, Goneril's steward in *Lear,* are, as it were, two lodged together. They differ from one another, of course, as comic figures inevitably differ from more serious ones; but both are negative studies informed with, and perhaps inspired by, a sort of lingering distaste for the type of solidly faithful but exasperatingly stupid and self-important officialdom they represent. I hope to show that the great Lord Strange's important Mr. Ffarington gives us so satisfactory a composite portrait of these two—with possibly a touch or two of Polonius thrown in to boot!—that he ought to be the great original even if he is not. Let us see whether, in any case, he is not much more likely to be the man than any of those hitherto thought to be Malvolio's forebears.

Two of these I shall dismiss rapidly, for neither of them, at best, could have supplied more than a name. Thus, Hunter suggested long ago that Shakspere might have *named* Malvolio from Messer Agnol Maleuolti, an obscure participator in the induction to *Gl'Ingannati,* one of the not impossible sources or analogues of *Twelfth Night.* Furness, however, has observed that "there is nothing whatsoever in Malevolti . . . which corresponds to the character which Shakespeare gives to Malvolio," and doubts that "Shakespeare even . . . took the trouble to borrow the name." [5] Even if he did not invent it, as he surely might have done, the Italian comedy does not supply even the shadow of a model for Malvolio. Neither does Fleay, who, because he was able to concoct the anagram I O [H N] M A [R S T O N] out of the fustian riddle (the "M O A I doth sway my life") in Maria's letter,[6] decided that "Malvolio was a representative of Marston's vanity." [7] For, as Small [8] has noted, Fleay's insistence upon the "singular likeness between the names" of Malvolio and Malevole (in Marston's *Malcontent*) is of small account—in the first place because there is no resemblance between the two characters except in name, and, secondly, because, if it be granted that there was any borrowing,

[3] See below, nn. 68-71, and text.

[4] Chetham Society *Remains,* 1853, XXXI, ed. F. R. Raines (hereafter referred to as *D. H. B.*). —Some months after the completion of this essay, a letter from Professor Abel Lefranc informs me that in 1919, subsequent to the publication of his *Sous le Masque de William Shakespeare,* he reread *D. H. B.* Thereupon, "struck by the many resemblances between Ffarington and Malvolio," he took copious notes (still in MS.) for future publication. "Quelle curieuse concordance de résultats!" adds M. Lefranc; "la chose vaut vraiment la peine d'être notée." Professor Lefranc's Shaksperian studies (on which cf. O. J. Campbell, Univ. of Michigan *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne,* 1925, p. 4) had not come to my attention until this paper was completed. As regards the question, therefore, concerning the original Malvolio, independent inquiry by two investigators representing entirely different points of view, has brought the same answer: Ffarington.

[5] Furness, *Twelfth Night,* Var., pp. xix-xx; 2, n. 12.

[6] *Twelfth Night,* II, v, 118.

[7] *Shakespeariana,* I (1884), 136; Furness, p. 168.

[8] *The Stage Quarrel,* p. 139; *cf.* Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage,* III, 431.

Marston must have been the borrower, since *The Malcontent* is almost certainly at least a year or two later than *Twelfth Night.*

The suggestions of Gollancz and Chambers are much more useful and plausible than this one. Accordingly, I shall excerpt enough of their materials to supply a fair basis for comparison with my claims for Ffarington. Gollancz,[9] to begin with, thought he recognized the original Malvolio in the person of "Sir Ambrose Willoughby, Queen Elizabeth's Chief Sewer and Squire of the Presence," whose quarrel with the Earl of Southampton is thus described in a letter by Rowland Whyte, dated January 12, 1597/8:

> Southampton [and] Willoughby . . . with Sir Walter Rawley and Mr. Parker being at Primero in the Presence Chamber, the Queen was gon to bed, and he being there as Squier for the Body, desired them to giue over. Soon after he spoke to them againe, that if they would not leaue he wold call in the Gard to pull down the Bord, which Sir Walter Rawley seeing, put vp his Money and went his Wayes. But my Lord Southampton took Exceptions at hym and told him he wold remember yt. [Whereupon ensued a hairpulling match, in which Southampton was worsted.] The Queen gave Willoughby Thanckes for what he did in the Presence, and told hym he had donne better yf he had sent hym to the Porters Lodge, to see who durst haue fetcht hym out.[10]

Such a quarrel, Gollancz goes on to say, would have caused much gossip, and "what more likely" than that Southampton's "devotee, Shakespeare, should cleverly utilize the incident?" The question has its point; but other questions, of which I shall mention only one or two, suggest themselves. If Willoughby was Malvolio, was Raleigh Sir Andrew, and Southampton Sir Toby? If so, would not the thing have been a rather left-handed compliment to Southampton? If, moreover, the allusion was recognizable, it might well have been dangerous, since the Queen had publicly supported Willoughby and might have had the last word if this quarrel had really been translated to the stage. At all events, this Willoughby, who spoils a belated cardgame for the Queen's favorites, supplies few definitely recognizable lines for the model of Malvolio the steward—for his dour surliness to servants and jesters, or his suppressed passion for fine feathers and high station.

Possibly Chambers meets the requirements more nearly. "The sort of criticism," he writes,[11] "which endeavors to trace and interpret topical allusions in Shakespeare's plays can easily be overdone." Yet he found it "tempting to illustrate the scene in which the virtuous Malvolio rebukes the 'uncivil

[9] *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare,* pp. 177-178.

[10] *Sidney Papers* (*Letters and Mem. of State,* ed. A. Collins), II, 83.

[11] *Shakespeare: A Survey,* pp. 177-179.

rule' by night of Maria and her disreputable consorts and is bidden in return by Sir Toby to go rub his chain with crumbs, by an amusing incident which a seventeenth-century anecdotist relates of Sir William Knollys, the Comptroller of the Royal Household:

> Knollys . . . had his lodging at court, where some of the . . . Maydes of Honour used to friske . . . about in the next room, to his extreame disquiet a nights. . . . At last he getts one to bolt their own backe doore when they were all in one night at their revells, stripps off his shirt, and so with a payre of spectacles on his nose and Aretine in his hand, comes marching in at a posterne doore . . . reading very gravely, full upon the faces of them. Now let the reader judge what a sadd spectacle and pitiful fright these poor creatures endured, for he faced them and often traversed the roome in this posture above an hour."

Now Knollys, though elderly and married, "had amorous relations with one of the Maids of Honour, the audacious and frail Mary Fitton," who, after his wife's death, failed to keep a promise to marry him. And so, Chambers concludes, "I like to think that the pompous and besotted old Comptroller gave Shakespeare his hint for Malvolio, and that Mary Fitton," though not the lady of the sonnets, "does . . . make her appearance in the plays as . . . the pert and ingenious hussy, Maria."

With due respect to a great scholar, I am bound to add that to my ear this anecdote sounds apocryphal. Even if it is not, one recalls, with reference to the maids of honor, that the "uncivil rule" of *Twelfth Night* is not that of the monstrous regiment of women but of Sir Andrew and Sir Toby, whom Maria, indeed—with certain anticipatory wifely-proprietary stirrings—admonishes *against* too many late drinky hours and too much caterwauling,[12] though it is perfectly true that she dislikes Malvolio's airs far more than Sir Toby's excessive libations. For the rest, I cannot see that Chambers' anecdote, except for Knollys' pomposity (which he, unlike Malvolio, strips off, of his own volition, with his shirt!) furnishes us, any more than does the Willoughby story, a clearly recognizable model for Malvolio, the sour steward and petty Jack-in-office. "Art any more than a steward?" Sir William Knollys[13] was, decidedly. To wit: of high family connection (his mother was a first cousin of Queen Elizabeth), he was, like his father before him, a tried soldier and diplomat, and stood in high personal favor with the Queen, who made him treasurer of the royal household, gave him many important and delicate tasks, and took pleasure in describing him as "one that appertaineth to us in blood."

[12] *Twelfth Night*, I, iii, 14; II, iii, 76.

[13] See *D. N. B.*

The danger involved in staging a recognizable caricature of one so close to the Queen makes strongly against the likelihood of any such intention in *Twelfth Night*. In any case, I do not think Knollys *fits*, any more than Willoughby. He did not, like Sir John Oldcastle, die a martyr, but this is not the man.

Yet there is virtue in these suggestions in so far as they look toward a living model within Shakspere's range of observation. I think, however, that Gollancz and Chambers looked too high. Shakspere certainly kept his eyes open at court as well as elsewhere, and used, directly or indirectly, much of what he saw there. Yet it does not follow that he put into his plays nearly so many full-length allegorical portraits of great personages as some enthusiasts woud have us believe. Certainly some of the most interesting discoveries of recent scholarship—Manly's, for example, and Hotson's—[14] support the belief that Shakspere, for many good reasons, is less likely to have modeled his characters upon princes, potentates and powers, than, like Mark Twain, upon his uncles, his cousins, and his aunts, or rather, like Chaucer, upon his personal and professional associates, neighbors, or acquaintances. I am confident, therefore, that in seeking the original Malvolio among Shakspere's quasi-associates I am at least pointing in the right direction, though Ffarington's claims must rest finally not upon certainties but upon comparative probabilities. As steward to Lord Strange and occasional host to Shakspere's company, he was, at all events, a person of sufficient consequence, though not too dangerously near the throne nor to the London players. And, as a candidate for the honor I would thrust upon him, he was blessed with a personality which, I think it will appear, could not easily have been forgotten by anyone who had had anything to do with him.

Ffarington, as Raines has shown, was born in 1537, and inherited from his father, Sir Henry Ffarington, a large property, an official connection with the Stanley family,[15] an inordinate "appetite for law," [16] and, in his conduct as a public official, an authoritative and unyielding manner which his inferiors and even "the surrounding gentry . . . felt . . . sometimes to be inconvenient . . . and at other times oppressive." [17] Ffarington cultivated his heritage

[14] *New Light on Chaucer* and *Shakespeare vs. Shallow*.
[15] The elder Ffarington had been secretary to Edward, Earl of Derby.
[16] *D. H. B.*, p. xxii.
[17] *Id.*, p. xxi.

assiduously. He increased his property by a prudent marriage [18] to a wealthy young daughter of the house of Stanley and by shrewd legal management, though it is to be observed that his unpleasantly habitual litigiousness (for, like his father, and like Oswald, he was preeminently an "action-taking" gentleman) [19] involved him in an unending series of disputations with his neighbors as well as with members of his own family." [20] Meanwhile, he had become Justice of the Peace in his home county,[21] and comptroller of the household to Edward, Earl of Derby. In 1572 "he received a patent as Steward of the household" to the next Earl, and took up his new duties with vigor and enthusiasm, if one may judge by the sharpened household regulations, extant in his handwriting, with which he celebrated his inauguration. According to these rules it appears that he would have exterminated altogether, if he could have had his way, such nuisances as "Doggs," "boyes," "slaves," and "vagrants." [22] Doubtless, however, this was merely his conception of his duty, which, as his editor has it, was "to censure delinquents, to check extravagance, to overlook the accounts . . . and to pay wages." Raines adds that Ffarington's record of his many years of service to the Stanleys "clearly proves that he had a just estimate of what was due to the rank and station" of this great family. Unquestionably, he had also a just estimate of the exalted respect due to the family's connection by marriage, its steward, Mr. Ffarington, who, meanwhile, by frugal [23] and dextrous management of his own affairs and in spite of his multitudinous and expensive law-suits, was thriving apace and steadily accumulating wealth, dignity, and importance. For during these years—between 1572 and 1594—he acquired lands, rebuilt his ancestral seat, "sought confirmation of the heraldic honours" of his family, lent money to his neighbors, settled disputes, and (like Malvolio) busied himself with "arguments of state" ranging all the way from the putting down of May games [24] to

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[18] Later, he objected strenuously to his son's *imprudent* marriage (see below, n. 42 and text).

[19] *Cf. Lear*, II, ii, 18, and, below, n. 48. (It is a little difficult to understand why the mild Oswald should be described as an "action-taking" rogue, unless Shakspere was thinking of some functionary like him who exemplified this trait.)

[20] *D. H. B.*, pp. xxi ff., etc. He studied law at the Middle Temple and is said to have attended Oxford, though I do not find him listed among its graduates, as is his son, William (*Alum. Oxonienses*, II, 483).

[21] "He remained an influential magistrate . . . throughout his life."

[22] See below, n. 73.

[23] See below, nn. 73, 42.

[24] In 1580 a fellow magistrate expressed his confidence that Ffarington would not wait for Privy Council authority ("My meaning is . . . I wolde have you to doe it yourself") to suppress "Robyn hoode and the May games" and such-like "lewde sportes tendings to . . . wantones" (*Ffarington Papers*, Chetham Soc. *Remains*, xxxix, pp. 128-130).

the raising of local funds to support the wars.[25] As steward of the Derby household he seems literally to have worn his "cheane" of office—which is reverently mentioned in a letter from one of his sycophants—[26] with an air that might well have roused a Sir Toby or a cry of visiting players to bid him go rub it with crumbs. But perhaps this is humanly understandable. He was not of their element. At home he had a "great golde Chaine" of his own,[27] and there, like Count Malvolio in his contemplation of future greatness,[28] he could sit in his state and call his officers about him to his heart's content, for his personal establishment was "large and well organized, his servants amounting to upwards of twenty, including his gentleman, steward, clerks, and others." [29] His records show that he was not incapable of doing good deeds,[30] though he appears to have been an intolerably magisterial, opinionated, and self-righteous person for all that.[31] There can be no question, however, in his case any more than in that of Malvolio or of Oswald, that he discharged his duties to the entire satisfaction of his principals, and that they, whatever the visiting players may have thought, reposed the utmost confidence and trust in him.[32] Lord Ferdinando Strange, in particular, relied upon him in all business matters, and, when he became Earl, confirmed Ffarington in all his offices.[33] The *Derby Household Books,* unfortunately, close with the year 1590, so that to trace the later years of Ffarington's career we have to turn to other sources of information.[34] Canon Raines was unable to find any evidence to show that Ffarington continued to serve the house of Derby after the sudden and mysterious death of Lord Ferdinando in April, 1594.[35] It may be pertinent to add, however, that Ffarington was, at least for a time, on most friendly terms with William Stanley, the next Earl,[36] who, as will appear

[25] *D. H. B.,* pp. xlv, xl, ff.

[26] One Richard Kellet, who wrote his "Right welbeloved Maister, my dutie remembered," that Ffarington was "greatlie missed" in 1584 when he did not accompany Derby, who "saied he wolde have geven ffortie powndes to have youe wth him," on an embassage to France. Kellet adds: "I see that Mr Warren doeth weare your Cheane" (*D. H. B.,* p. li).

[27] Valued at £100 (*D. H. B.,* p. xcii).

[28] *Twelfth Night,* II, v, 35-55.

[29] *D. H. B.,* p. xxxv.

[30] In 1580 he paid a boy's expenses at Christ Church, Oxford; and he willed a year's wages to his servants (*D. H. B.,* pp. xli, lxxii ff.).

[31] See below, nn. 40-43 and text.

[32] "They confided in him . . . entirely" (*D. H. B.,* pp. xciv ff.; Cf. *Lear, IV,* ii, 18; *T. N.,* III, iv, 69).

[33] *Id.,* p. lxiii.

[34] *The Ffarington Papers* (see nn. 24, 73), the history of the dramatic companies, etc. (see text below).

[35] This sensational event, incidentally, was the talk of all London, including, undoubtedly, the players.

[36] He was Ffarington's guest in May, 1594 (*D. H. B.,* p. lxiv).

below,[37] continued in noteworthy fashion his family's traditional interest in plays and players.. Ffarington died in 1610. Of his later years it is enough to say that he was frequently in London—in 1594, for instance, and 1597—[38] where he might have been seen or heard of by old acquaintances, and that during this decade or earlier there must occasionally have been high gossip about him below stairs in Lancashire, which might likewise have come to the ears of the players. For Ffarington had notorious trouble the while. He was constantly in the courts,[39] and his stiff-necked integrity did not compensate for the lack of humor and human sympathy he exhibited in his own home. He was "disappointed in all his children" and he absolutely disinherited Thomas Ffarington, his eldest son. This young man, described by Raines as "a gentleman of some accomplishments and learning," with "a taste for music . . . painting, and poetry," [40] was not a young Malvolio. Sometime between 1590 and 1598 [41] he refused point-blank to achieve greatness by a prudential marriage such as might have established him in a nearer relationship to a noble house. According to William Ffarington's will, written just before his death in 1610, his son twice married "wthout my co[n]sent & wthout any preferm^{t} to himselfe obtayned or yet to the obtaining of any frends thereby," his second wife being so "base and beggar[l]ye" [42] and so "undutifulle, unqwiet & disobedient" withal that she had the effrontery to beard her father-in-law in his own house at Worden in order "to take possessyon in the same." The husband and wife offered abject "submission," apparently soon after this event, but Ffarington's will proves that he nursed his grudge until the end.[43]

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[37] See n. 61 and text.

[38] *D. H. B.*. pp. lxiii, lxvi, etc.

[39] *Id.*. pp. lxvi, lxxvi, xlix, etc.

[40] *Id.*, p. lxxxvii.

[41] See below, n. 43.

[42] "It is just possible," says Raines, that to the fist-hardened elder Ffarington "to want money" may have been tantamount to wanting "everything" (*Id.*, p. lxxxi).

[43] The passage from the will reads as follows:

> "Forasmvche as Thomas ffarington . . . my eldest sone . . . hath not onlye bestowed himselfe at two severall tymes, since the beryall of his first wieffe, in marryadge wthout my pryvitie & co[n]sente & greatlye to my . . . discontentm^{t} & wthout any preferm^{t} to himselfe obtayned, or yet to the obtayning of any frends thereby, his nowe wieffe being dissended of a base & beggarye parrentadge & she a verye undvtvfulle, vnqwiet & disobedient woman, & came vnto my howse of Worden to enter & to take possessyon in the same wthowte my pryvitie & co[n]sente, I beinge then in possessyon of the same,"

—therefore he cuts off his son (*D. H. B.*, pp. lxxxiii ff.). The exact date of the quarrel between father and daughter-in-law is uncertain. Young Ffarington, however, was first married in 1581, and his first wife bore him three children. His second marriage, therefore, would hardly have come before 1586, nor his third before 1590 or later. The quarrel probably developed within a year or two of March 11, 1600, for in a letter of that date Thomas Ffarington reproached his father for the consistently "hard countenance" with which he had refused forgiveness, "neither the submission of myself nor my wife, neither yet the motion of any friend" having availed (*Ffarington Papers*, pp. 142 ff.).

Now this side of Ffarington—his unimaginative self-righteousness as a man, his "superserviceable" [44] devotion to his principals, his surliness toward servants,[45] and his instinctive distaste (still to be shown) for players—is that of which Shakspere may well have seen and heard something. To let the reader see something more of it, I shall quote here a passage from the concluding character sketch of Ffarington by Raines, an unprejudiced witness, since he failed to notice Ffarington's probable contacts with Strange's Men and did not connect him with Malvolio. "The salient points of his character," says Raines,

> are vividly marked and fully before us. . . . What he would be at the head of Lord Derby's household [may readily be imagined]. It may also be inferred that he was not often found at Whitsun Ales or Wakes of Leyland, and that the pastoral days of pipe and crook and dance and song were little heeded by him. *That he entered not with much spirit into the theatrical representations at Knowsley and New Park,* that the liltings and old ballad music of his sons found small favour with him, *that he had not much delight in comic humour or a particle of imagination or sentiment or romance about him,* may be readily admitted. His life was that of a prosperous man . . . practical and cautious, the mind always on the stretch and the affections perhaps not much in request.[46]

The *prima facie* likenesses between Malvolio, Oswald, and Ffarington, thus viewed, are, I think, fairly evident. Still others deserve attention, but first it will be useful to complete the picture, as Raines draws it, from Ffarington's portrait at Worden Hall:

> *There is great decision and authority, united with more than ordinary sharpness and sternness in the expression,* and *he looks like a man who had been more accustomed to rule than to obey.* . . . His features are handsome and regular . . . face somewhat square, eyes dark, complexion florid . . . forehead high . . . lines across it indicative of thought . . . beard thin, peaked . . . slightly gray. He wears a russet-coloured doublet . . . free from the . . . fashionable "slashing and jagging" . . . at that period so much affected . . . also a sable fur across his shoulders and a large chain of linked gold . . . in three rounds across his chest. In his right hand he holds a silver-headed cane, or it may be his wand of office . . . and he wears a ring on his little finger. . . . In his left hand . . . a scented glove embroidered with gold, on his forefinger . . . a signet ring. . . .

(The severe elegance of this *tout ensemble,* be it noted, is shot through

[44] See below, n. 48.

[45] Ffarington's household rules (*D. H. B.*, pp. 20 ff.) expressly provide that the "meaner sort" be kept strictly in their places. In general, these rules confirm Raines's suggestion (cf. n. 68, below) that Ffarington was an unconscionable martinet. (Cf. also *Twelfth Night,* II, v, 162.)

[46] *D. H. B.*, pp. xciv ff. (Italics mine.)

with more than one indulgent gleam of another sort. Raine's concluding lines will show that the scented glove and "some rich jewels" [47]—the rings and chain and wand—are not the only offset for the *un*slashed restraint of the doublet. Is it altogether fanciful to suggest that all this might make a good serving of red meat for the Freudians? Have we not Hiren here—Ffarington-Malvolio of the yellow stockings and cross garters? And that other glass of fashion to boot—the elegantly finical "neat . . . glass-gazing, superserviceable . . . action-taking . . . base, proud, shallow . . . one-trunk-inheriting" Oswald? [48] We must look again at Ffarington as he was *under* his skin, but first I shall let Raines finish his description.)

> He wears the . . . monstrous . . . double cambric ruff . . . stiffened or wired, being [according to Stubbs in the *Anatomy of Abuses*] "set three or four times double, and of some fitly called three steps and a half to the gallows." [49]

Other gentlemen too, of course, wore the double ruff; but few of them all, surely, had anything like Ffarington's personal and professional qualifications as a proper model for Malvolio and Oswald. Very few, indeed, could have enjoyed strategic advantages equal to his as steward to Lord Strange and his father from 1589 to 1594. For one thing, the present paper has already supplied some definite evidence in support of Raines's inferences concerning our steward's lack of humor, imagination, and inclination for theatrical entertainment. Other aspects of the case I have touched upon in a previous essay,[50] in which I called attention to the fact that during the two or three years (1587-1590) actually covered by the *Derby Household Books,* Ffarington names even the least of the many household guests but fails to name even one of the thirteen plays by at least four different companies [51] whose appearance at the Lancashire residences of the Stanleys he definitely records in his fragmentary entries for this period. I have previously suggested also that the Stanleys and their guests probably saw more plays than this incomplete record indicates, since Ffarington himself informs us that on one and the same Sunday they had a sermon in the morning and—such was their appetite for drama—"*the same*

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[47] *Twelfth Night.* II, v, 66.

[48] *Cf. Lear, II,* ii, 15-20, 45.—Those who knew their Ffarington knew also that he had an eye for elegant and gorgeous array. Kellet, for instance, in writing him about his chain (see above, n. 26) added full and glowing details concerning the liveries ("purple in graine Cloake[s] . . . garded with Velvet and . . . gold, . . . black Sattine doubletts & hoese . . . wth like garde and lasse") worn by Derby's followers in 1584.

[49] *D. H. B.,* pp. xciv ff.

[50] "*Faire Em* (and Shakspere's Company?) *in Lancashire,*" PMLA, XLVI (1931) 647 ff.

[51] Leicester's Men, the Queen's, Essex's, and Lord Strange's (see below, nn. 66-67 and text).

daie the Quenes Players . . . ii severall nyghtes"! [52] It is certain, at all events, that the Stanleys were traditionally friendly to the players, for they had given them patronage of one sort or another at least as early as 1461,[53] and they called upon them for household entertainment as late as 1606.[54] Ffarington's own record closes in August, 1590, but there can be little doubt that he had to see many another play during the remaining years of his stewardship. For Lord Strange himself remained a generous friend of poets and players [55] until his death in 1594, and my earlier study of Ffarington's entries indicates that Strange missed no opportunity to see his own company in action at his own home.[56] After his death, his widow, the famous Countess of Derby,[57] gave her name and countenance to the company, then certainly including Shakspere,[58] until Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain, took them under his wing.[59] Even then the Stanley family continued to interest itself in plays and players. William Stanley, the next Earl of Derby, was so devoted a patron of theirs that gossip reports him, in 1599, "busye . . . penning commedyes for the commoun players," [60] a story which perhaps derives some support from a letter [61] of his own in which he states that he had professional players acting for him at the old family seat at Lathom during the Christmas season of 1606.

That Shakspere's company [62]—the company officially under Lord Strange's patronage and later under his widow's—appeared in the Derby residences during the important years between 1590 and 1594, while Ffarington, presumably, was growing more confirmed in his crabbedness and Shakspere more certain of his powers, seems to me altogether likely, for two reasons.

(1) The Stanleys loved plays, and their company (Strange's) is known to have been at Coventry, Shrewsbury, Leicester, and perhaps at the nearby

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52 *D. H. B.*, p. 62. (My italics.)

53 *Stanley Papers*, I, ii (Chetham Soc. *Remains*, vol. XXIX); *cf.* Collier, *Annals*, I, 83.

54 See n. 61, below.

55 *Cf.* T. Heywood, "Earls of Derby and the Verse Writers," in *Stanley Papers*, I, lii ff.

56 *Cf. PMLA*, XLVI, 658.

57 As Lady Strange she had frequently seen the players in Lancashire (*D. H. B.*). Like her husband, "she patronized and was praised by the poets," including Spenser, Marston, and Milton.

58 See below, n. 67.

59 *Cf.* Murray, *Engl. Dram. Comwanies*, I, 91.

60 *Cf.* George Fenner's letter in *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, V, 227.

61 On Dec. 2, 1606, he wrote the Mayor of Chester to bespeak official favor for the Earl of Hereford's Men, who had "beine wth. mee" and "whose retorne and labor for this Christmas tyme I expecte" (R. H. Morris, *Chester*, p. 353, n.; Murray, II, 234).

62 See below, n. 67.

Chester,[63] that is to say, within easy range of its patron's Lancashire residences, year after year between 1591 and 1594. (I cannot prove, to be sure, that Shakspere was among the visiting players. The chances are, however, that his interest in travelling players—*vide Hamlet*—was not altogether academic or impersonal. Sooner or later few of the tragedians of the city, beginners or masters, escaped the necessity of travelling "on the hard hoof." It is virtually certain, at any rate, that among the visiting players in Lancashire during these years were such men as Kemp and Edward Alleyn, Augustine Phillipps and John Hemings, Shakspere's fellows and formerly of Leicester's Men, or the Queen's, or Strange's.[64] In other words, it is at least almost certain that Ffarington was a character well known to the players.)

(2) If Shakspere's company did play in Lancashire during these years, it was merely living up to its traditions; for I think I have shown, in the earlier study already referred to,[65] that Strange's Men may be traced in Ffarington's domain, at Knowsley or Lathom or New Parke, about 1589 or 1590, and that there is reason to believe that this company stood lowest of them all in the steward's good graces. I may recall here that these inferences rest upon two sets of facts. The first is a group of Ffarington's own entries (four in all, between Christmas, 1587, and February, 1590) concerning a company of which he disposes summarily as "*the*[66] Plaiers." Since Ffarington invariably refused to dignify those more or less immediately under his thumb by naming them, I take this company to be that of the household, Lord Strange's Men. In the second place, this interpretation is confirmed, and the presence of Strange's Men in one of the Stanley houses about 1590—probably soon after Shakspere had joined the company—[67] is virtually attested by two passages in

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[63] It is certain that Strange's Men intended to play at Chester in 1593, and that they appeared at Coventry in 1591-2-3-4, at Shrewsbury in 1592 and 1593, and at Leicester in 1593/4 (Murray, I, 89, 108; II, 392, etc.).

[64] See lists of company personnel in Murray and T. W. Baldwin, *Organization . . . of the Shakespearean Company.*

[65] See above, n. 50.

[66] My italics.

[67] He had become a sharer in Strange's Men at least as early as 1594, and had had a hand in the writing or recasting of *I Henry VI* (including the Talbot scenes), acted by Strange's Men at least as early as March, 1592. Murray (I, 75) and Baldwin (pp. 82, 287) place the beginning of his service—as a hireling—with Strange's Men, in 1588 or earlier. Sir E. K. Chambers (*William Shakespeare*, I, 59) doubts whether Shakspere's "beginnings . . . as . . . actor and . . . writer" can be safely traced back further than to the Strange-Admiral's combination of 1590/1, but agrees that Shakspere must have started as a hired man; *i. e.*, in such obscurity as makes difficult the task of dating the beginnings of his career. In any case, Chambers' dates are early enough, for, though Ffarington's entries close in 1590, he certainly retained his stewardship—and the players in all probability continued their visitations—until 1594 (see above, nn. 35, 63).—Professor J. Q. Adams (*Life of Shakespeare*, pp. 130 b.) holds that during a part of these four years Shakspere belonged to Pembroke's Men. If so, the fact remains that he belonged to Strange's before the end of Ffarington's career, and that the steward was well known to Shakspere's colleagues before and after.

the comedy of *Faire Em,* a Strange's play dating between 1589 and 1591. These passages, which could hardly have been intelligible to any but a Lancashire audience, contain two outspoken compliments to Sir Edmund Trafford, an important associate and friend of the Stanleys, who, as I have shown, is thrice mentioned in Ffarington's record for 1587 to 1589 as a household guest of the family while the players were acting.

With reference to the especially scanty notice accorded by Ffarington to the company under the patronage of the house, I have only to repeat that he cherished a particular aversion to "vagrants," always stood tip-toe upon his dignity wherever any household servants were concerned, and never gave a name to any of them except to such dignitaries as "Mr. Comptrowler," "Mr. Receyver Generall," and—"Mr. Steward of the Howsehold." [68] If, being the man he was, players in general seemed a nuisance to him, he might conceivably have cherished a special distaste for the one company of them all which, perhaps, had special claims because it belonged, in a sense, to the family. What other than a churlish welcome, however, could they expect from a crusty official whose most human touches, so far as his entries are concerned, dim the glowing memory of great events—state dinners, pastime and good company, the glories of the chase, a fire which threatened to destroy the house at Lathom, the birth of Lord Strange's daughter—with laconic phrases which *describe* only the man who wrote them: "Mondaie many at din[ner]"; "Frydaie a great companie"; "Wednesday came many Huntesmen & Howndes"; "This night fyre begune in the Buttre"; "on Monday the mydwiffe came." [69] Some, however, may still wish to press the question why those particular abstracts and brief chronicles of the time, Shakspere's company, should have been especially distasteful to Ffarington. *If* they were—for I think my case will stand even without this assumption—I may be pardoned for venturing one final suggestion. If they thought themselves entitled to especial favors, it may be that Ffarington, with whom household familiarity would have bred no less than contempt, used them, like Polonius under similar circumstances,[70] according to his own conception of their "desert." If so, Hamlet's remark a moment later may throw some light upon our question. Perhaps the players, at one time or another, had broken a jest upon the grand steward, by way of giving him

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[68] *D. H. B.,* p. 23.

[69] Two months after writing this last passage, Ffarington explained it by another entry: "Wednesday was the crystening of my L. Strandge's daughter" (*D. H. B.,* pp. 64, 43, 70, 42, 46).

[70] *Hamlet.* Good my lord, will you see the players well bestow'd? . . . Let them be well us'd. *Polonius.* My lord, I will use them according to their desert (II, ii, 546).

an inkling of their feelings toward him? "Look you," says Hamlet to the First Player—"Look you, mock him not." [71]

It remains only to recapitulate Ffarington's claims as a Shaksperian original, and to retrace finally the outlines of his likeness as reflected in Malvolio and Oswald. The fact that these two, almost the only Shaksperian stewards worth mentioning,[72] appear to be two of a kind whom Shakspere disliked heartily, would seem to establish some preliminary ground for the hypothesis that he drew them from some living model whom he thought worthy to be remembered. As steward to the patrons of Shakspere's company during the years 1589 to 1594, while Shakspere was winning his spurs and while his company was almost certainly visiting the Derby houses more frequently than Ffarington cared to see them, he would appear to be a logical candidate. Shakspere might have remembered him for many reasons. Perhaps it was merely because Ffarington was obviously no lover of players in general; possibly some particular coldness on Ffarington's part toward Shakspere's company was the more warmly remembered by them. Certainly it is hard to believe that a character and personality so strongly marked as that of Ffarington, as he reveals himself in his writings, could have failed to attract Shakspere's notice if he knew of him at all. For every page of Ffarington's papers is full of the man—a man of ability and substance, but one marked among multitudes by his abysmal lack of humor and his profound dislike of cakes and ale, especially for the *hoi polloi*. He was well-born, and he achieved honors and distinction by his own efforts. His pride of place is understandable, but his colossal self-importance would have been no less trying to his official inferiors. Though he privately gave alms, on occasion, to the poor and humble, the players would have noticed, rather, his painstaking—not to say niggardly—[73] frugality, personal and official. They could not have been

[71] II, ii, 570.

[72] "Wouldst thou not be glad to have the niggardly . . . sheep biter come by some notable servant of the romantic tradition rather than the conventional steward. Davy, Shallow's factotum in *II Henry IV*, is a real and racy person, but not the steward of a great house. The steward in *All's Well* is insignificant.

[73] "Wouldst thou not be glad to have the niggardly . . . sheepbiter come by some notable shame?" (*Twelfth Night*, II, v, 5). As steward, Ffarington proscribed "boyes," "Doggs," and "vagrant psons." who might nefariously consume his principals' "victualls, bread, or drinke"; and prescribed carefully the exact number of messes and loaves to be cut or baked out of "every vealle, bieffe, mottons . . . and Pecke of Wheat" that came into the household (*D. H. B.*, pp. 21 ff., etc.). "Prudent avoidance of prodigality" (*Id.*, p. xxxix) was a general characteristic of his. Thus, he "avoided the cumbrous office of sheriff"—for the sheriff had to find, at his own expense, an intolerable deal of "wine and venison" for the justices—and distinguished himself, as early as 1578 "for the frugality enjoined" in a resolution intended to cut down the official allowances of these delicacies to the magistrates. In his will, finally, he forbade "any . . . extraordinarye chardges whatsoever" in connection with his funeral (*Id.*, pp. xlvii, xcvii, lxxix; *cf. Ffarington Papers*, pp. IV-V).

unaware of his stubborn integrity, but, while he lorded it over them, they, his superiors in all the man-becoming graces, must have ached to caricature his obstreperous litigiousness, his "neat" and grave pomposity, his lurking vanity, and his unsmiling ambition. If out of these simples Shakspere's magic compounded Oswald and Malvolio, the whirligig of time brought in its revenges.

TO SHAKESPEARE.[1]

After Three Hundred Years.

Bright, baffling soul, least capturable of themes,
Thou, who display'dst a life of commonplace,
Leaving no intimate word or personal trace
Of high design outside the artistry
Of thy penned dreams,
Still shall remain at heart unread eternally.

Through human orbits thy discourse to-day,
Despite thy formal pilgrimage, throbs on
In harmonies that cow oblivion,
And, like the wind, with all-uncared effect
Maintain a sway
Not fore-desired, in tracks unchosen and unchecked.

So, like a strange bright bird we sometimes find
To mingle with the barn-door brood awhile,
Then vanish from their homely domicile —
Into man's poesy, we wot not whence,
Flew thy strange mind,
Lodged there a radiant guest, and sped for ever thence.

THOMAS HARDY.

[1] Reprinted from *The Gala Book*, published by The Herald Press, Stratford-on-Avon, in 1927.

Notes on "Troilus and Cressida"

By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

(1) *I, i.* Modern editors locate this scene "Before Priam's Palace." But this is incorrect. The scene is the interior of Troilus's tent and the highway before it. (This is not the only scene in this play which requires us to imagine ourselves seeing both the interior and the exterior of a tent at the same time.) At line 103 ("Tell me, Apollo, for thy Daphne's love,") Troilus must be standing before and addressing a bust of Apollo. At line 109 Aeneas passes the tent and, seeing Troilus within, calls to him; whereupon the latter comes out and engages his accoster in conversation.

(2) *I, i, 72.* Troilus, in answer to Pandarus's outburst (lines 68-71), says, according to modern editors: "Good Pandarus, how now, Pandarus!" It is evident that Pandarus made a pretence of going away and leaving Troilus to manage for himself. In consternation Troilus calls after him, "Good Pandarus!—how now? [*i.e.,* what shall I do now?]—Pandarus!" Thereupon Pandarus returns—with a great show of reluctance.

(3) *I, ii, 8.*

"Before the sun rose he [Hector] was harness'd light."

The exact meaning of the word "light" (spelled "lyte"—an unusual spelling—in the original text) has been disputed. Some define it "lightly," others "promptly." Shakspere may have intended it to mean "nimbly"; but to me there is something wrong with all these definitions. Hector would not have gone into battle lightly armed, and there seems to be no point in saying that he was promptly (nimbly) armed before the sun was up. There is a touch of the comic in being "harnessed nimbly." Besides, at the end of the line we should except the adverb "lightly." "Lyte" is probably a misprint for "tyte," *i.e.,* "tight," meaning "skilfully," "competently," and "securely." In other words, Hector went forth well armed. "Tight" goes well with "harnessed," but not "light." The letter *t*, made with a loop, was easily mistaken for an *l* in the secretary script in which dramatic dialogue was written in Shakspere's day. In the fifth act of this play we have another instance ("smile" for "smite) of an *l:t* confusion. Twice in this play the Quarto has "surely" for surety." And we have "will" for "witt" in the Quarto and in the Folio (I, ii, 90). Professor Leon Kellner, in his *Restoring Shakespeare* (pages 73 and 107), mentions a number of examples of the confusion of *t* and *l*. Shakspere, it should be added, has the word "tightly" in the sense required in the above passage (See Schmidt's *Lexikon*). "Tight" was also suggested by Dyce.

(4) *I, iii, 69.*

"Look you, who comes here?"

Thersites, the speaker of this line, sees who is approaching Achilles' tent. His speech should therefore be printed thus: "Look you who comes here!" *i.e.,* Just see who is coming.

(5) *I, iii, 84.*

"Or know not what we are.—I shall say so to him."

I, iii, 124.

"We come to speak with him; and you shall not sin."

In accordance with a rather common custom in Elizabethan verse the word "shall" in these lines was probably intended to be contracted to *'se* ("I'se" and "you'se") in the reading. The frequent occurrence of extra-metrical "shall" warrants the assumption that writers intended it to be contracted. It is also not unlikely that certain scribes and printers almost automatically substituted "I shall" for an author's "I'se," etc. Ralph Crane's liberties with Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chesse* points to this.

(6) *I, iii, 242-3.*

"But what the repining enemy commends,
That breath fame blows."

In the first of these lines the word "But" is unnecessary metrically and is not required by the sense. Its omission would greatly improve the passage.

(7) *I, iii, 352-353.*

"What heart receives from hence the conquering part,
To steal a strong opinion to themselves?"

The passage would be improved by substituting "thence" for "hence"; *th,* as written by some Elizabethans, was easily mistaken for *h.* See Kellner, *op. cit.,* p. 63.

(8) *II, i, 139.*

"*Ajax.* O, meaning you. I will go learn more of it. [*Exeunt*]."

The above line is undoubtedly spoken aside by Ajax; "*Exeunt*" must therefore precede, not follow, this one-line speech. "Oh, meaning you!" is said scornfully after Achilles and Patroclus have left the scene. The scene closes with Ajax' *exit.*

(9) *II, ii, 49-50.*

"reason and respect
Makes livers pale and lustihood deject."

Modern editors desert the Folio in favor of the quarto's "Make," in ac-

cordance with the requirements of modern grammar. To Shakspere "reason and respect" probably meant only "respective reason," reason which weighs and considers, and he therefore wrote "Makes," which should be retained. We find in this very play "words and errors" for "misleading words," and "blood and honour" for "honorable blood."

(10) *II, iii, 180-183.*

"Dear lord, go you and greet him [Achilles] in his tent;
'Tis said he holds you well, and will be led
At your request a little from himself."

It cannot be that it is "said" that Achilles will permit himself to be led by Ajax. It is much more likely that Agamemnon, the speaker, says (to Ajax): " 'Tis said he holds you well;—a' [*i.e.,* he] will be led/ At you request" etc.

Note that Ulysses uses *a'* for "he" in line 222. That *a* could be mistaken for Gothic & we know.

(11) *II, iii, 192-195.*

"No, this thrice worthy and right valiant lord
Must not so stale his palm, nobly acquir'd,
Nor, by my will, assubjugate his merit,
By going to Achilles."

The use of such an unusual word as "assubjugate," which occurs nowhere else in Shakspere, and was not used by anyone before him, makes me think that our poet coined it for the purpose of playing on the first syllable ("ass-subjugate"). It shows how far Ulysses can go in insulting Ajax without the latter's having any notion of how he is being gulled.

(12) *II, iii, 201-202.*

"This lord go to him! Jupiter forbid,
And say in thunder 'Achilles go to him!' "

Should we not rather read as follows?

"This lord go to him!—Jupiter, forbid!
And say in thunder: 'Achilles, go to him!' "

(13) *III, i, 4. "Pandarus.* You depend upon him, I mean?" The punctuation of this line has proved troublesome. Deighton printed it (in the Arden edition): "You depend upon him? I mean." The proper reading is, of course, "You depend upon him, I mean."

(14) *III, i, 9-15.*

"*Pandarus.* You know me, do you not?
Servant. Faith, sir, superficially.
Pandarus. Friend, know me better; I am the Lord Pandarus.
Servant. I hope I shall know your honour better.
Pandarus. I do desire it.
Servant. You are in the state of grace."

The explanation usually given of this bit of dialogue seems to miss the entire point. Malone was of the opinion that the Servant "hopes [line 13] that Pandarus will become a better man than he is at present. In his next speech [line 15] he chooses to understand Pandarus as if he had said he wished to grow better, and hence the servant affirms he is in a state of grace." This is much too forced and improbable. When the Servant says he knows Pandarus only superficially he insinuates that he wants a gratuity, he wants Pandarus to go deep into his purse. Pandarus thereupon gives him a coin and says "know me better." Shakspere's clowns, and this Servant is a clown, in such a situation ask for more money ("I hope I shall know your honour better"). (See *Twelfth Night,* III. i.) Pandarus generously hands him another coin, whereupon he says, "You are in the state of grace."

(15) *III, i, 33-34.*

"with him [Paris] the mortal Venus [Helen], the heart-blood of beauty, love's invisible soul."

This servant's description of the immortal Helen as "love's invisible soul" has rightly puzzled students of this play. Dr. Johnson explained the words as meaning "the soul of love invisible everywhere else"—which is preposterous. Clarke, much more sensibly, paraphrased the words as "the ethereal spirit of love as impersonated by [Helen]." This is fine but it is not what Shakspere wrote. Love does not have a visible soul nor an invisible one. Helen cannot be an invisible soul, seeing that she herself is quite visbile. Daniel conjectured reading "love's indivisible soul" or "invisible love's soul"—which, it must be confessed, are bad.

A very simple alteration, the addition of a single letter, gives us, *me judice,* just what Shakspere meant. Helen is "love's invincible soul," she is the eternal lover, love in her is unconquerable. In Shakspere's day "invincible" could be written "invinsible" (see *New English Dictionary*), and Shakspere might have written, or intended to write, in accordance with a common practice, "invĩsible," the tilde replacing the *n.* Either he carelessly omitted

the tilde above the *i* or the compositor mistook it for an i-dot.

It is interesting in this connection to note that in one passage (in *2 Henry IV*) in which the word "invincible" occurs, it seems to be an error for "invisible."

(16) *III, i, 88-89.* Helen is annoying Pandarus while he is attempting to deliver his message to Paris. Concealing his exasperation and attempting to remain calm, he says: "What says my sweet queen? My cousin will fall out with you." Capell seems to have been puzzled by this and he suggested transferring the line to a later portion of the scene. Deighton approves of this because "*Nothing has as yet been said of Cressida* [his italics], and the words 'My cousin will fall out with you' are altogether irrelevant." Capell and Deighton have evidently missed the humor of the speech. Pandarus calls Paris his "cousin" and tells Helen that if she does not stop flirting with him (Pandaus) he (Paris) will become jealous and fall out with her. Paris had called Pandarus "cousin" in line 52.

(17) *III, ii, 53-54.* "Nay," says Pandaus to the ardent Troilus and the impatient Cressida, "you shall fight your hearts out ere I part you." As far as I know, Professor Kellner has been the only one to question the correctness of the text here. He makes the excellent suggestion in his book that we substitute "sigh" (written "sighe") for "fight." Nothing was easier than to mistake initial long *s* for *f* and final secretary *e* for *t*. We have just an *e:t* error, as Mr. Craig has suggested to Deighton, in the word "presume" (for "presume't") in *III, ii, 171.*

(18) *III, ii, 126.* "Why was my Cressid then so hard to win?" asks Troilus. But as he is not referring to a particular time, the word "then" must be preceded and followed by a comma. "Then" means "in that case."

(19) *III, iii, 4-5.* A much-discussed passage is the following: "through the sight I bear in things to love,/ I have abandoned Troy." It is useless to repeat here the various emendations and super-subtle defences of the word "love." We know that Calchas has remained with the Greeks, to whom he had been sent by the Trojans, because the oracle had warned him of what was to come. Here Calchas evidently takes to himself the credit of having foresight of what is to ensue. From other errors in the Shakspere canon we know that his Roman *c* (a letter which many Elizabethans preferred to the secre-

tary *c*) was sometimes mistaken for an *l*; also, that Shakspere's *m, n,* and *v* (*u*) were often indistinguishable (in this very play we have a number of such errors, *e.g.,* "same" for "sieve"). I have no doubt, therefore, that Shakspere wrote "come" (the reading of the fourth Folio), not "love."

(20) *III, iii, 5.*

"I have abandon'd Troy, left my possession."

Though "possession" yields reasonably good sense, it would be better to alter it to "possessions." Singulars for plurals and plurals for singulars are common in the original Shakspere texts, perhaps because of the confusion between final Roman *e* and a certain variety of final *s*. Capell also suggested reading "possessions."

(21) *III, iii, 150.*

"As done. Perséverance, dear my lord,".

This incomplete line may be "corrected" by inserting "'tis" after "perséverance," rather than by reading "deär."

(22) *III, iii, 157-160.*

"If you give way
Or hedge aside from the direct forthright,
Like to an enter'd tide they all rush by
And leave you hindmost:"

Note the subtlety and adroitness with which Ulysses here adopts the personal "you," thus making the personal application to Achilles inescapable.

(23) *III, iii, 197-198.*

"The providence that's in a watchful state
Knows almost every grain of Plutus' gold."

The Folio says "*Plutoes* gold," not "Plutus' gold." (In the Quarto the line reads: "Knowes almost euery thing.") The propriety of departing from the Folio admits of serious question. Shakspere has "Pluto" in *Julius Caesar* (IV, iii, 102), "Plutus" in *Timon of Athens* (I, i, 284) and "Platus" (a misprint, in *All's Well* (V, iii, 101). Elizabethans were not punctilious in distinguishing between Pluto, the god of the underworld, and Plutus, the personification of wealth. (See Thomas Randolph's *The Drinking Academy,* edited by Professor Hyder Rollins and myself, The Harvard University Press, 1930, p. 53. See also a note on this point in the "First Folio Edition," by C. E. Porter and H. A. Clarke, page 191.)

(24) *IV, i, 35.*

"I was sent for to the king; but why, I know not."

To scan this line it seems that we should read "I was sent" "I'se sent," just as we sometimes read "you're" for "you were." Otherwise the reader may put the stress, wrongly, on "was."

(25) *IV, ii, 36.*

"Who's that at door? good uncle, go and see."

An apostrophe after "at" would indicate the omission of the definite article before "door."

(26) *IV, ii, 111.*

"Drawing all things to it. I'll go in and weep."

For "to it" read "to't."

(27) *IV, iv, 55.*

"I must then to the Grecians?"

See Note 18.

(28) *IV, v, 73-75.*

"*Achilles.* 'Tis done like Hector; but securely done,
A little proudly, and great deal mizprizing
The knight opposed."

In the Quarto and in the Folio this speech is assigned to Agamemnon. A proper distribution of the lines requires the first line to be assigned to Agamemnon and the other two lines to Achilles.

(29) *V, ii, 46.*

"O wither'd truth!—Why, how now, my lord!—By Jove,"

Some editors omit the word "my," *metri gratia;* it is more likely, however, that Shakspere would prefer us to delete "Why."

(30) *V, x, 6-8.*

"Frown on, you heavens; effect your rage with speed!
Sit, gods, upon your thrones, and smile at Troy!
I say, at once let your brief plagues be mercy."

Many editors retain the Folio's absurd "smile" and define it as meaning "smile in derision." It may be objected to this definition that the gods cannot be invoked to "frown" and "smile" at the same time. Besides, one enraged does not "smile." We must therefore adopt Hanmer's substitution of "smite" for "smile," even though we do not adopt his "all" for "at."

"Smite at" is good Old English: the *New English Dictionary* says that "smite" also meant "to strike, deliver a blow or stroke, *at, on,* or *upon* something." "Smile" would have been an easy misreading of "smite." "I say, at once" should be connected grammatically with what precedes, not with what follows.

(31) *IV, ii, 31-32.*

"alas poore wretch: a poore *chipochia,* hast not slept to night?"

Most modern editors depart from the original text in reading, "Alas, poor wretch! a poor capochio! hast not slept to-night?" Some editors improve upon this by reading, "Alas, poor wretch! ah, poor capochia! hast not slept tonight?" The only other correction required by this passage is the alteration of "hast" to "has't," the "it" being the capochia. We have "a" for "ah" also in Pandarus's "a sweete ducks" (IV, iv, 11).

(32) *IV, ii, 54-57.*

"*Pan.* Is he here, say you? 'tis more than I know,
I'll be sworn. . . . What should he do here?
Aene. Who! nay, then: come, come,".

For "Who!" Theobald substituted "Pho!" and Hudson "What!". "Who" probably represents Shakspere's "ho!", an exclamation of impatience and disgust. "Ho!" means "Halt! Stop!" Johnson read "Whoo!"

(33) *IV, iii, 7-11.*

"And to his hand when I deliver her [Cressida],
Think it an altar, and thy brother Troilus
A priest there off'ring to it his own heart. [*Exit.*
Paris. I know what 'tis to love;
And would, as I shall pity, I could help!"

The *Exit* after line 9 does not occur in the original texts and it seems much better to put it after line 11. It is much better theatre and better psychology to have Paris lay his hand affectionately and sympathetically on Troilus's shoulder as he speaks lines 10 and 11. As Troilus is going into the house, Paris stands looking after him a while, then turns to his followers and bids them enter.

(34) *V, i, 10-11.*

"*Patroclus.* Who keeps the tent now?
Thersites. The surgeon's box or the patient's wound."

"Tent" is usually defined as "probe," but it sometimes (as here and in King Lear's "untented woundings") means a "drain." Wounds are drained by packing with "tents."

(35) *V, i, 13.*

"Patroclus. Well said, adversity!"

The meaning of "adversity," as a term of abuse applied to Thersites, is in dispute. Steevens defined it as "contrariety," "being adverse." Collier conjectured "perversity," and Hudson so read. Schmidt defined "adversity," incorrectly, as "mischievous and offensive creature." "Adversity" means "misfortune, calamity"; Patroclus therefore, in effect, calls Thersites "the pattern of fortune's spite," "the personification of ill luck."

(36) *V, ii, 76-82.* Part of the colloquy between the lustful Diomedes and the faithless Cressid is printed thus in most modern editions of this play:

Diomedes. I shall have it [*i.e.,* Troilus's sleeve].
Cressida. What, this?
Diomedes. Ay, that.
Cressida. O, all you gods!—O pretty, pretty pledge!
Thy master [Troilus] now lies thinking in his bed
Of thee and me, and sighs, and takes my glove
And gives memorial kisses to it,
As I kiss thee. Nay, do not snatch it from me;
He that takes that doth take my heart withal.

In the Quarto and in the Folio the words "Nay, do not snatch it from me" (line 81) are assigned to Diomedes, and the last line ("He . . . withal") to Cressida. Theobald is responsible for the change, although he assigned also the words "As I kiss thee" to Diomedes, adding the following stage-direction: "Diomede, kissing her, offers to snatch the sleeve." The original text should not be disturbed. Cressida gave Diomedes the sleeve at line 66 ("Here, keep this sleeve!"); he returned it to her at line 71 (as he asks "Whose was't?"); he takes it from her at line 76 ("Ay, that!"), but she snatches it from him immediately, as she says "O, all you gods!" When Diomedes sees her kiss the token (at line 81), he snatches it from her hands again. Thereupon she attempts to recover it, but this time he refuses to part with it ("Nay, do not snatch it from me").

(37) *V, iii, 40-42.* Troilus thus reproaches the magnanimous Hector:

"When, many times, the captive Grecian falls,
Even in the fan and wind of your fair sword,
You bid them rise and live."

Mr. Deighton, in the "Arden Shakespeare" (London, 1922), commenting on this passage, says that *fair* (in line 41) "can hardly be sound," and he

informs us that *fear'd, fierce,* and *fell* have been proposed as emendations. *Fierce* and *fell* do not fit Hector's character; *fear'd* is not likely to have been mistaken for *fair.* I would, therefore, suggest *sure,* meaning "strong," "steady," "trusty." *Sure,* written (as often in Elizabethon manuscripts) *suer,* with secretary long *s,* could easily be misread *fair,* the *s* being mistaken for *f,* the *u* for open *a,* and the *e* for *i.*

(38) *I, ii, 248.*

As Troilus approaches, Pandarus says to Cressida, according to the Quarto, "Marke him, note him: O braue *Troylus,*" etc. All editors adopt this reading, ignoring the fact that the Folio gives an added touch of humor to the situation by reading: "Marke him, not him: O braue *Troylus,*" etc. When the old lecher says "*Mark* him!" Cressida purposely looks after the departing Helenus. In disgust Pandarus says "not *him*" and shoves her head in the direction of Troilus.

The Dyer's Hand

By JOHN D. REA

IN one of the Sonnets Shakespeare complains that fortune has compelled him for so long to lead the life of an actor that his whole nature shows a tinge of his profession:

> My nature is subdu'd
> To what it works in, like the dyer's hand.

If the plays are read attentively, their language shows conclusively that the writer really was steeped in the language of the theater. Phrases of the actor's jargon creep in everywhere, in passages where they are uncalled for or even dramatically out of place. I had at one time thought of collecting these examples of stage-phraseology. But they are too many; they turn up in all sorts of strange places, in almost any scene, wherever laid. Every lane's end, every shop, church, session, hanging, yields a careful man work.

One might start with the scene in *Twelfth Night* (I, v) in which Viola, disguised as a page of Duke Orsino, tries to deliver a love speech to Olivia on behalf of Orsino. Olivia interrupts:

> *Oli.* Whence came you, sir?
> *Vio.* I can say little more than I have studied, and that question's out of my part . . .

At these words, smacking of the stage, Olivia naturally asks:

> *Oli.* Are you a comedian?

The writer of the speech certainly was, though Viola and Orsino were not.

Such passages are most noteworthy when they are placed in the mouths of characters who could not be thought of as using the language of the stage at all. For example, Othello, reared in the tented field and more familiar with antres vast and deserts idle than the soft phrase of the actor behind the scenes, is hardly the man to say (I, ii, 83-4):

> Were it my cue to fight, I should have known it
> Without a prompter.

Then, too, a Roman general in the fifth century B. C., two centuries before contact with Greek civilization had introduced drama to the Romans, could scarcely be expected to use the actor's slang of the Elizabethan theater; nor could many characters be found less fitted by nature and training for the actor's point of view than Coriolanus. Yet here are his words as Shakespeare reports them (V, iii, 41-2):

> I have forgot my part, and I am out,
> Even to a full disgrace.

"Out" is, of course, the actor's word for one who has forgotten his lines; Shakespeare, but not Coriolanus, must have seen and listened to many a colleague as he forgot the speech assigned to him and even broke down so completely as to leave the stage in full disgrace, with the hisses of the audience. Perhaps an actor may occasionally have tried the trick that Rosalind remembers orators using (*A. Y. L. I.,* IV, i, 74-77):

> "Very good orators, when they are out, they will spit; and for lovers lacking—God warn us—matter, the cleanliest shift is to kiss."

This last must have been useful sometimes to actor-lovers as well as to real lovers.

When the tiny page, Moth, has been so heckled by the listeners in *Love's Labour's Lost* that he has repeatedly forgotten his carefully memorized speech, he apologizes (V, ii, 172):

> They do not mark me, and that brings me out.

Biron, as stage-manager, answers, again in actor's language:

> Is this your perfectness? Be gone, you rogue!

and so Moth leaves in a full disgrace. His supposed "perfectness" has broken down before a disorderly audience. An actor who had learned his part so well that no slip could occur in its delivery was said to be "perfect." Costard, after his turn as actor in the same scene, remarks (V, ii, 51-2):

> I hope I was perfect. I made a little fault in "Great."

In such a scene of amateur play-acting the language of the stage is perhaps in place; but what can be said of it in the mouth of Guiderius, a Briton of the first century, who has spent his life since infancy in a cave and has never seen an actor? When Belisarius asks in alarm (*Cymbeline,* IV, ii, 117):

> What hast thou done?

Guiderius answers in the strange line:

> I am perfect what: cut off one Cloten's head.

No early Briton ever spoke so; the actor in Shakespeare has got the better of the dramatist and made him use unconsciously a phrase that would be almost unintelligible except to an actor. "I am perfect" was so common among players in the sense "I know perfectly and can speak" that it is actually used here with a direct object; Guiderius merely means "I know perfectly and can

rehearse to you what I have done, namely, cut off Cloten's head." To Shakespeare's ear the extraordinary sentence had nothing unusual about it.

Later in the same play, it is again the actor Shakespeare rather than Posthumus, a Briton of the first century, who speaks the strange words (V, v, 228-29): "There lie thy part." The reader needs the following stage-direction to be sure of the meaning: *"Strikes her; she falls"*—and so acts her part by merely lying still.

It is hardly more appropriate for a Scotch messenger in the time of Macbeth to use the language of the Elizabethan stage so fluently (IV, iii, 66):

> In your state of honour I am perfect.

He means only: "I know perfectly your rank and the ceremony appropriate thereto."

Antigonus, a Greek of the days that we can date as pre-Christian, because the oracles had not yet become silent, says in *The Winter's Tale* (III, iii, 1-2):

> Thou art perfect, then, our ship hath touch'd upon
> The deserts of Bohemia?

But here one may protest that no kind of language can really be called inappropriate in a play whose geography allows a ship to touch the deserts of the sea-coast of Bohemia and whose chronology is equally erratic, allowing this same pre-Christian Antigonus to be chased forever from the stage by a bear, some sixteen years too soon to permit of his seeing a statue of his queen, made by Julio Romano, the famous sculptor—of the sixteenth century!

One of the problems of the Elizabethan stage was to get rid of the bodies of those characters killed during the play. As there was no curtain to lower, thus conveniently allowing the actor to walk off on his own legs, the corpses had to be disposed of in some way. Usually they were carried off by other characters in the play. But with the love of bloodshed on the stage so prevalent as to give a name to one type of play, the Tragedy of Blood, it was sometimes a problem to find enough survivors to carry off the dead. Any Elizabethan actor must have faced this problem often, but it could hardly have been expected that the Earl of Northumberland in the time of Henry IV should speak so fluently about it (*2 Henry IV*, I, i, 155-161):

> And let this world no longer be a stage
> To feed contention in a ling'ring act;
> But let one spirit of the first-born Cain

Reign in all bosoms, that, each heart being set
On bloody courses, the rude scene may end,
And darkness be the burier of the dead!

Perhaps as astonishing as any of these passages is one put into the mouth of Ulysses at the siege of Troy (*Troilus and Cressida,* I, iii, 149-175). One might protest at having Ulysses discuss drama many centuries before Thespis had originated even his wagon-stage. It is, however, no description of Greek acting of any period, early or late, but of contemporary mannerisms of Shakespeare's fellow players or rivals:

And with ridiculous and awkward action,
Which, slanderer, he imitation calls,
He pageants us. Sometime, great Agamemnon,
Thy topless deputation he puts on,
And, like a strutting player, whose conceit
Lies in his hamstring, and doth think it rich
To hear the wooden dialogue and sound
'Twixt his stretch'd footing and the scaffoldage,—
Such to-be-pitied and o'er-wrested seeming
He acts thy greatness in; and when he speaks,
'Tis like a chime a-mending, with terms unsquar'd,
Which, from the tongue of roaring Typhon dropp'd,
Would seem hyperboles. At this fusty stuff
The large Achilles, on his press'd bed lolling,
From his deep chest laughs out a loud applause;
Cries, "Excellent! 'Tis Agamemnon just.
Now play me Nestor; hem and stroke thy beard,
As he being drest to some oration."
That's done, as near as the extremest ends
Of parallels, as like as Vulcan and his wife;
Yet god Achilles still cries, "Excellent!
'Tis Nestor right. Now play him me, Patroclus,
Arming to answer in a night alarm."
And then, forsooth, the faint defects of age
Must be the scene of mirth; to cough and spit,
And, with a palsy fumbling on his gorget,
Shake in and out the rivet; and at this sport
Sir Valour dies; cries, "O, enough, Patroclus;
Or give me ribs of steel! I shall split all
In pleasure of my spleen."

The reference to Aristotelian "imitation" in the second line is evidently an attempt to give some Greek flavor to the comments on actors and acting. We must not inquire too deeply into the probability of having Ulysses thus

familiar with the writings of an author who was not to be born for several centuries. If we did, we should have to ask, too, how Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, gained his knowledge of the London stage, or how his friend Horatio at the end of the play speaks of Hamlet as of an actor who has not had the chance to play a part he has been rehearsing:

> Let four captains
> Bear Hamlet, like a soldier, to the stage,
> For he was likely, had he been put on,
> To have prov'd most royally.

Buckingham, in the time of *Richard the Third,* also has a surprising knowledge of theatrical conditions for days that far antedate the first theater in England (III, v, 5-9):

> Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian;
> Speak and look back, and pry on every side,
> Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,
> Intending deep suspicion. Ghastly looks
> Are at my service, like enforced smiles.

It is the same Buckingham who has said in the preceding scene (III, vi, 27-29):

> Had not you come upon your cue, my lord,
> William Lord Hastings had pronounc'd your part,—
> I mean, your voice—for crowning of the King.

Similar to the first of these is the famous passage put into the mouth of Macbeth, a Scotch king of the eleventh century. It is equally inappropriate dramatically whether we consider the character of the speaker, the place (Scotland), or the time; but it would be reason for thankfulness if more writers could commit such magnificent anachronisms as Macbeth's brief mourning for his dead queen (V, v, 23-26):

> Out, out, brief candle!
> Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
> And then is heard no more.

A walking shadow; such was William Shakespeare himself, and the thought of the transitory quality of the player's art is never far from his mind. The painter, the sculptor, the architect work in materials that may preserve their achievements for centuries; but the actor, dealing with such intangibles as gestures and sound-waves, sees his creation come to an end as soon as created, so transitory it is and fragile—transitory as human life itself. The

melancholy and cynical Jaques makes this observation in a passage probably as familiar as any in Shakespeare, *As You Like It,* II, vii, 139-166:

> All the world's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players.
> They have their exits and their entrances,
> And one man in his time plays many parts,
> His acts being seven ages.

The rest of the passage is full of the language of the stage and it is to be read with its complement in the great fifteenth Sonnet:

> When I consider everything that grows
> Holds in perfection but a little moment,
> That this huge stage presenteth nought but shows
> Whereupon the stars in secret influence comment.

Prospero says it best in what is perhaps the last play of all, *The Tempest,* in which Shakespeare ended his long association with actors and acting (IV, i, 148-158):

> Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
> As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
> Are melted into air, into thin air,
> And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind.

Editorial Notes

THE Folger Memorial in Washington, the Memorial Theatre in Stratford, the Furness Memorial Library in Philadelphia—what a tribute to one man, three noble monuments dedicated on the same day! Amid all the notable anniversaries of the poet's birthday through the past three centuries, the April of 1932 outshines them all in the consecration of visible shrines to his memory. America at last has a national memorial. In England a great new shrine rises from the ruins of the old Theatre. Both are international. In the words of King George, cabled to the British ambassador and read at the exercises in Washington:

"It is a source of interest and pleasure to me to know that on the day of England's patron saint when my son is opening the new Shakespeare Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon, the Folger Shakespeare Library is also being inaugurated at Washington. I welcome it as forming yet another bond of friendship between our two nations."

Most of our members have doubtless read the extended press accounts of these dedications. Many of them, along with millions of others, had the privilege of hearing the program in the Folger Library over the network of a far-flung broadcasting system. Seldom have such groups of distinguished guests assembled for a cultural event on either side of the Atlantic. Never in history has a man been honored with such permanent memorials of this character on two continents on the same day. Out of the wealth that was poured into the construction of these monuments, out of the hearts and brains that conceived them and labored to make them living realities we must see, in these troubled days, a new assertion of the abiding faiths of human nature which Shakespeare holds up before us.

Such a scant reference to accomplished facts must suffice in the present belated issue of the Bulletin. But for the July number we plan full accounts of the impressive ceremonies at Washington, Stratford, and Philadelphia. The same issue will also print an account of the annual dinner of the Association, which promises to be unusually rich in its program.

* * *

In July we shall report to our members the activities of the past year. It is enheartening to know that an aggressive, optimistic spirit prevailed at a recent meeting of the directors of the Association. Those who are giving time and energy to the advancement of our organization are confident that in this notable Shakespearean year our present members will be prompt to continue their support in response to any reminders from our Treasurer and to enlist the interest of others who should join us.

* * *

Again we must express our deep appreciation to the Carnegie Corporation for a generous subsidy enabling us to publish the Annual Bibliography which has become so invaluable a record for students and scholars throughout the world. This renewed aid is both timely and indispensable.

* * *

To our secretary, Miss Martin, we extend our solicitous and affectionate sympathy in the serious ill-health which has overtaken her. We anxiously await her return to that vigor with which she has carried on for so long.

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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

In the January issue of the BULLETIN there occurred the following errors:

P. 3. The address of CUP is Cambridge, England, not "Oxford."

Item 3407. *Chamber's* should be *Chambers'*.

Item 3432 should be deleted.

Item 3433. The New York publisher is the Oxford University Press, and the price is $1.

Item 3519. For *Komisarjesky* read *Komisarjevsky.*

Item 4008. Insert "From notes by H: Traver."

Item 4249. For *Rhoades* read *Rhodes.*

Item 4297. For *UP* read *up.*

Item 3549. For *Farnum* read *Farnam.*

Item 3677. The New York publisher is the Oxford University Press.

Item 3780. For *Holznecht* read *Holzknecht.*

Item 3991. For *Ghosch* read *Grosth.*